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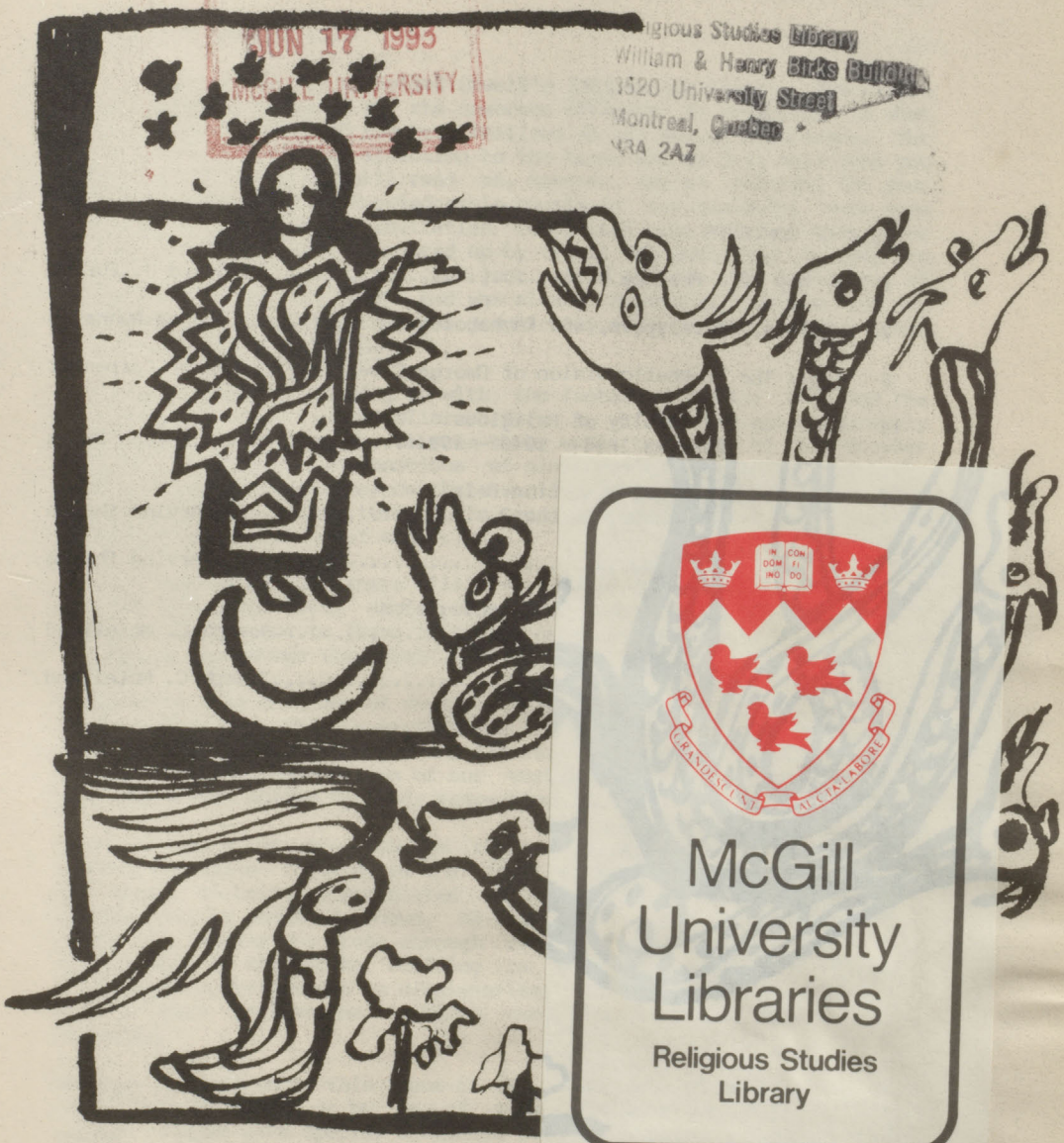

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BY WAY OF A PREFACE....

The literary world has exploited Orwell's 1984 to its limits. Few people have remained untouched by the numerous attempts to establish to what extent Orwell's "vision" has been realized in our actual experience. Yet another journal devoting attention to the topic may be just more than you can bear. We hope you will read on, however, and be rewarded for your efforts. Some of the knowledgeable people in our community were more than happy to accept our invitation to address some relevant aspect or another of the insights conjured up by Orwell who published in 1948 his reflections of a world that had just lived through the nightmare of Hitler's mad lust for power and was slowly beginning to sense the icy grip of yet another ideology, so graphically depicted for us at a later date in the Gulag Archipelago.

A new generation is growing up with the fantasies of Star Wars and the myriad versions of interstellar warfare to which they are generously treated in film and on TV. We seem to be under the cloud of "Big Brother watching". Everyone is conscious of mind control, behaviour control, cosmic control at switchboards that would release unthinkable quantities of nuclear weapons and turn God's good creation into a diabolically distorted fragmentation of matter.

To this new generation there still is a "word from the Lord". It is a sign of peace and hope, a word that speaks to the visions, dreams and fears, encouragement to "hang in there" and take seriously the challenge "to people and manage the earth".

Words alone will not do, of course. We are confident, though, that our readers will take these contributions from persons engaged in Biblical Studies, philosophical thought and literary analysis and in the dialogue of the religious communities of our world and translate them, in turn, into the action needed in their respective context.

1984, as some of you may know, is the year in which the McGill community recalls admission to study of the first women. This happened in 1884. The event is being commemorated in many ways through lectures and seminars led by women of renown. We wish to draw your attention to women in our own faculty who broke through real or imagined barriers when they first came to the Birks Building to study. They have since made significant contributions as missionaries, teachers, pastors, homemakers and in many professions to which they devoted their energies and resources.

We hope you will enjoy this issue of ARC. Feel free to write to us about any of the articles or by way of suggesting possible foci in future issues. Please give special attention to the invitations extended by our academic community to the Birks Lectures (October 1-2) and to the International Zwingli Symposium (October 2-5).

Edward J. Furcha

VISIONS, APOCALYPSES, AND ESCHATOLOGY IN 1984

Donna Runnalls

Apocalypticism is in fashion once again. It seems appropriate, then, in an issue of ARC devoted to a consideration of the imagery of Orwell's '1984', to re-examine the visionary literature of post-exilic Judaism. This literature represents an early framing of apocalyptic speculation, a type of speculation which has been surprisingly persistent in western thought. While remaining an enigma, it may be, as E. Käsemann has suggested, "the mother of all Christian theology." (1) Paul Hanson (2) has proposed that the literature arose out of a social crisis resulting from the failure of the well-ordered world view, primarily provided by the prophets, which had defined values and ordered the universe for the Jewish people in the post-exilic period. If this is the case, then there are parallels to our own period: confidence in the values of an ever-expanding economy with progress toward greater equality and a rising standard of living has been badly shaken; the belief that science can provide us with the tools to correct the dislocations caused by other scientific applications is under attack; the assumption that life itself (and death as well) is a problem which can be solved if only we have enough information is being questioned; the well-ordered world view on which our society is based may be on the verge of collapse. It should not be surprising that in these circumstances there has recently been a wide-ranging debate on the subject of 'apocalyptic' and 'apocalypticism' which has led biblical scholars to return to a careful analysis of the ancient texts upon which the discussion rests.

The appearance of new evidence has aided the study of early apocalypses as literature and of apocalypticism as a theological system; this new evidence has necessitated the re-examination of old assumptions. The delineation and definition of the literary genre 'apocalypse', the consideration of the social origins of apocalypticism, and the search for the intellectual roots of its images are all matters of current scholarly interest.

The publication of the fragments of the Book of Enoch (3) which were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls has compelled a re-evaluation of the nature and purpose of apocalypses. While the Book of Enoch has survived mainly through its Ethiopic translation, Aramaic fragments of four of the five sections of that translation have been found among the Qumran Cave 4 manuscripts. On palaeographic grounds the first and third parts of the book appear to date from the late third or early second century B.C.E. Because these are not the authors' original autographs, but copies -- or even copies of copies -- these two parts of the Book of Enoch were probably written by the third century at the latest. Furthermore, the first part, known as the Book of the Watchers (chps. 1-36), is a composite work; the author would appear to have had before him even

earlier literary sources for this type of speculation. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, in fact, wants to date chapters 6 - 11 as early as the fourth century B.C.E. (4) These parts of the Book of Enoch are the oldest extant extra-biblical Jewish religious literature, but more importantly represent a type of apocalypse different from the Book of Daniel which has often been used as the basis for the description of the genre 'apocalypse'.

What do these two section of the Book of Enoch indicate about speculation on the nature of the cosmos, the relationship between heaven and earth, and the problem of evil which was of interest to at least some Jews prior to the cataclysm of the Maccabean revolt and the writing of the Book of Daniel?

While the Book of the Watchers contains a variety of information, the core of the story is of the fallen angels, the 'sons of God' who sinned with the daughters of men (cf. Genesis 6:1-4); it tells of the secrets, charms, and mysteries which the angels reveal to women; it describes the corruption which the giant offspring brought to earth. The book then reports the ascent of Enoch to heaven, describes the divine palace, the environs of God and especially the Throne. In the presence of God, Enoch is shown the cosmic judgment in the flood and the measures taken against the Watchers and their offspring by confining them to the netherworld. He is then taken on two journeys. During the first he is shown the underworld, the storehouses of the stars, the winds and other natural forces, the places of the fallen angels and their punishment, and the names of the archangels and their responsibilities. On the second journey he sees once more the places where the angels are punished, Sheol, and the mythological geography of the earth. These visions lead to the praise of God for his wondrous works. The otherworldly journeys are thus concerned with questions of judgment, punishment and reward.

The third part of the Book of Enoch, the book of the Heavenly Luminaries is occupied with astronomical data. This data was considered important because it determined the true calendar, upon which human lives depend. This information is presented in the form of a heavenly journey which Enoch takes under the guidance of the archangel Uriel.

Michael Stone has suggested that the early appearance of such ascent visions and the particular interest in the description of the Throne of God indicates that at least by the third century B.C.E. there was the beginning of the 'Chariot' tradition, a speculative mystical tradition based on the description of the winged throne of God in Ezekiel 1. (5) It has generally been supposed that the absence of ascent visions in the Hebrew Bible was connected to the fact that biblical anthropology did not distinguish between the body and the soul in such a way as to put them in opposition or allow their separation. Stone finds it significant that the ascent visions of Enoch represent the first occurrence of the kind of religious experience, which would become wide-spread in the Greco-Roman

world, in which the soul could make this kind of journey to the heavens. "It also seems to mark a change in the view of man which was to have very considerable repercussions." (6)

Because of the importance of these issues, a number of scholars have undertaken a careful re-examination of the ancient apocalypses from various religious traditions in order to produce a description and definition of the literary genre 'apocalypse'. The work of John J. Collins is of interest because he has both outlined a classification system and also described each of the Jewish apocalypses according to its type. (7) He begins with a discussion of both the framework of the revelation and its content. Important elements of the framework are the medium of the revelation whether by vision, audition, or writing, and the appearance of an otherworldly mediator to the human recipient who is usually pseudonymous and identified as an important figure from the past. As for the content he recognizes two axes on which it is structured. The first of these is a temporal axis: on the basis of a recollection of past history a prophecy of an eschatological crisis with judgment and/or destruction is given. This will then be followed by salvation through supernatural means and involves cosmic transformation, personal salvation, resurrection, or other forms of afterlife. The second axis is a spatial one: the revelation is centred on otherworldly by elements, regions, and beings where the judgment between good and evil is primarily at a cosmic level. Apocalypses conclude with instructions to the recipient to publish or conceal the revelation and then may describe his awakening or other consequent actions.

Collins continues his work by distinguishing between two types of apocalypses, those which do not have an otherworldly journey (type I) and those that do (type II). He then subdivides these types and has found that his type Ia, 'historical' apocalypses with no otherworldly journey, and type IIb, otherworldy journeys with cosmic and/or political eschatology, are both attested in the Jewish literature of the second century B.C.E. The type Ia is represented by Daniel 7 - 12, for example, and the type IIb is illustrated by the Book of the Watchers and the Heavenly Luminaries. Collins also notes: "The 'historical' apocalypses which give prominence to reviews of history followed by cosmic transformation and on which many genralizations about 'apocalyptic' are based, constitute only about one-third of the Jewish apocalypses and are extremely rare elsewhere." (8) While the line between these two types of apocalypses can not be drawn too sharply and all visions culminate in the expectation of a coming eschatological judgment, it is still interesting to consider what might account for the difference.

Paul Hanson has attempted to place the origins of apocalyptic thought in the social environment of the early post-exilic period. He wishes to identify a hierocratic group controlling the Jerusalem temple; this group has used the concepts of Ezekiel 40-48 in their programme of temple restoration for which legitimacy was provided by the prophecies of

Zechariah and Haggai. Thus with the building of the temple the renewed community has been properly established. In opposition to this hierocracy was a visionary group which, because it was not part of the power structures, looked to the future for the righteous community. It is in the theolocial formulations of this group that Hanson sees the origins of apocalyptic. There is a continuum between prophetic eschatology, particularly as represented by Second Isaiah, and apocalyptic eschatology as it develops in Isaiah 56 - 66 and Zechariah 9 - 14. He describes Isaiah 56 - 66 and Zechariah 9 - 13 as early apocalyptic. Zechariah 14, on the other hand, is clearly middle apocalyptic. The genre has thus appeared sometime between 540 and 450 B.C.E. Hanson based this conclusion on a careful analysis of these texts using a method which he calls contextual-typological and which he describes as follows:

> It seeks to interpret the apocalyptic compositions within the context of the community struggle discernible behind the material studied, and it applies typological tools in analyzing the material. The typologies traced are those of poetic structure and meter, of prophetic oracle types (genres), and of the prophetic eschatology-apocalyptic eschatology continuum. (9)

Zechariah 14 is well advanced on the continuum because the changing social structure and increaisng struggles between hierocrats and visionaries have led the author to re-employ the ritual pattern of the conflict myth in which the Divine Warrior is victorious over the enemy. By the fusion of the salvation theme of the royal version of the conflict myth (which had been preserved in the cult, e.g. Pss. 2: 7 - 9; 45:2 - 5; 72:8 - 11) with the judgment theme of the prophets' contentions a new form has appeared. Apocalyptic emerges when salvation "is described in the cosmic terms of myth, and the task of relating that vision to the realities of this world has been abandoned." (10)

While some scholars believe that Hanson puts too much stress on the vision-reality, myth-plain history polarity as decisive for the development of apocalyptic eschatology, most agree that he has made a major contribution toward understanding the intellectual and social environment out of which apocalyptic emerged.

While Hanson has used sociology as basic to his study, Robert P. Carroll has suggested that the theory of cognitive dissonance, formulated in the field of social psychology with L. Festinger as its leading proponent, offers a useful tool for understanding the tensions out of which apocalyptic emerged. In the theory of cognitive dissonance, when two cognitions are inconsistent or contradictory, a person experiences tension and will be motivated to change in either attitude or behaviour. The disciples of Second Isaiah suffered this kind of dissonance with the failure of that prophet's visions along with the expectations, verbalized by Haggai and Zechariah, concerning the new kingdom. The resolution of

this dissonance -- which required group or community support -- was the re-interpretation of the prophecies in order to explain the causes of the delay of national salvation. "This reinterpretative and transformational process may be seen as evidence for the principle dissonance gives rise to hermeneutic. Eventually prophecy was transformed by apocalyptic which became yet another attempt to show how unfulfilled expectations must of necessity be realized." (11)

A different approach to the origins of apocalyptic has been that of Gerhard von Rad who has vigorously denied that it could have developed out of prophecy. (12) He has rejected the idea that the apocalyptic use of historical review is in any way connected with the prophetic message which was specifically rooted in the saving history of Israel's election. Rather, apocalyptic was a late, decadent outgrowth of the wisdom tradition.

That wisdom accounts for the origins of apocalyptic and framed its core features is an untenable theory. However, wisdom has clearly contributed to its formation because of the way in which it attempted to deal with problems of good and evil, success and failure, life and death. Jonathan Z. Smith has proposed that wisdom and apocalyptic are interrelated because both are essentially scribal phenomena.

> Apocalypticism is Wisdom lacking a royal court and patron and therefore it surfaces during the period of Late Antiquity not as a response to religious persecution but as an expression of the trauma of the cessation of native kingship. Apocalypticism is a learned rather than a popular religious phenomenon. (13)

While all these studies provide useful pointers to factors contributing to the development of apocalyptic, more study is needed to understand its relationship to the breakdown of fundamental religious institutions which occurred in post-exilic Judaism, and the transformation which resulted in individuals connected with those institutions as they attempted to explain, interpret, and make sense of the collapse which they experienced. Despite recent discoveries which have provided incentive and help toward such study, the sources remain sparse. It may be that more comparative research can add a vital dimension to the field. It should be clear, however, that definitive pronouncement on the origin and meaning of apocalyptic is at most a distant hope.

> ...The Most High spoke to me saying, "Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people. For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the river of knowledge. (2 Esdras 14. 45-47).

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1984: THE PROPHETIC VISION OF GEORGE ORWELL

Peter Carpenter

Most people assume that prophecy is concerned exclusively with the future, that it refers only to prediction. Arthur Koestler apparently thought this and he argues somewhere that 1984 belongs not to the literature of prophecy but to the literature of warning. Now he may be right to reject the notion that Orwell was attempting to forecast the future, but he is surely wrong to conceive of prophecy in so narrow a fashion.

A broader, more profound, conception is implied in the practice of attributing prophetic insight to works of art such as The Wasteland (T.S. Eliot) and La Nausée (Sartre). There is nothing predictive about these writings, they are attempts merely to describe current realities. Why then are they prophetic? What is it about La Nausée, for example, that prompts us to think of it in these terms?

Tillich writes, in The Courage To Be, that the death of God occurred in the 19th century. This experience, this sense of the loss of God, is precisely what La Nausée is about. The disorientation, the anxiety, the nausea: these, of course, are Sartre's own experiences. And yet, since good art mirrors the human situation, we soon recognize these experiences as our own. This is not merely the story of one Antoine Roquentin, it is our story, the story of modern civilization. Now this almost uncanny ability to describe the realities of contemporary experience, is not this the quality that impels us to characterize La Nausée, and works like it, as prophetic?

It would seem, then, that prophecy is concerned more with the present than with the future. Of course, to know what is really going on here and now is to have some awareness of what is coming. But before we can talk about future possibilities, we must first be in touch with present actualities. Therefore, the aim of prophecy, of prophetic art, is to bring these actualities to light. Collingwood comes to the same conclusion. "The artist must prophesy," he writes in The Principles of Art, "not in the sense that he foretells things to come, but in the sense that he tells his audience, at risk of their displeasure, the secrets of their hearts."

Now if any author succeeds at this, it is George Orwell. All his novels, from Down and Out in Paris and London onwards, have this prophetic quality, seeming to say momentous things about the times in which we live. The novel, however, which does this best is 1984. If in the earlier works we see through a glass darkly, in this one we see face to face. And what we see, of course, is our own reflection. And what we learn about ourselves is that, deep down, we are in despair. The novel tells us much more of course, but despair, as we shall see, is its

essential message.

It is better, as the saying goes, to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all. This may be true of love, but it is certainly not true of hope. The person who loses hope is clearly worse off than one who never had hope in the first place.

Now Orwell, it seems, is a man who once had hope and then lost it. One can infer this from his biography, but even more clearly one can sense it in his fiction--particularly Coming Up for Air and, of course, 1984. In both of these novels the hero sees his hopes come crashing down" George Bowling, when he returns to Lower Binfield and discovers that the past is gone forever ("1913! My God! --- It'll never come again"); Winston Smith, when he hears the iron voice from behind the picture: "You are dead." There is an important difference, however, between the two novels. In Coming up for Air there is a certain humour, a feeling that in spite of everything it is possible still to smile. Not so in 1984. Here every possibility of smiling has been erased by that iron voice which proclaims not merely the death of a particular individual, but the death of individuality itself.

This is the true source of despair in 1984: there is no hope for the individual, his day is done, the night of collectivism has arrived. It is not sufficient therefore to say, as Arthur Schlesinger does (in a New York Times article--September 25, 1983), that Orwell's vision "registered the decay of Western faith in the inevitability of progress." If the individual is done for, progress is not merely not inevitable, it is not even conceivable.

Before arriving at this despairing conclusion, the novel explores every avenue, looking for some way out. Each of these avenues, however, turns out to be a dead end. Orwell does talk vaguely of hope as existing in "the proles" or in the "spirit of Man." Some critics therefore talk of 1984 as basically optimistic. In 1985, however, Anthony Burgess correctly dismisses this hopeful talk of Orwell's major work as "sentimental and unworthy." Despair, not vague hope, is the real conclusion of 1984.

The first Avenue of Hope which the novel tries is the belief that what happened, happened, and nothing can change this. Basically this is an attempt to find solid ground for the individual. If I can remember that a particular event occurred--so Winston reasons--then the Party can say what it likes, it can never alter the fact that the event took place and that I remember it. My memory of the event is therefore my assertion, the assertion of the individual, against the lies and propaganda of the State.

Just how unstable this positon is comes out during a scene in which O'Brien, the interrogator, raises the question about the existence of the

past. After getting Winston to admit that it exists only in records and in human memories, O'Brien says, "... Very well, then. We, the Party, control all records, and we control all memories. Then we control the past, do we not?" When Winston retorts that his memory has not been controlled, O'Brien assures him it will be--sooner or later. Then what becomes of the alleged historical fact? Then what becomes of the private memory?

Apparently more secure, so Winston thinks, is the unshakable foundation of mathematical evidence. It may be impossible for the individual to know what did or did not happen, but it is surely impossible not to know that 2 + 2 = 4. This, Winston says, is the individual's "secret doctrine," his guarantee that even the most powerful State has its limits.

But again, incredibly, Winston finds himself on shifting sand. Confused by O'Brien's "Berkeleyan" argument--"Whatever the Party holds to be truth, is truth"—and wanting desperately to cooperate so as to avoid further torture, he becomes genuinely uncertain about the number of fingers O'Brien is holding up. "I don't know. I don't know. You will kill me if you do that again. Four, five, six—in all honesty I don't know." Later, when O'Brien wants him to see five fingers, while only showing four, Winston actually does see five. The vision soon fades and he sees only four, but the breakthrough has occurred: perhaps it is not always true that 2 + 2 = 4. "'You see now,'said O'Brien, 'that it is at any rate possible.'" Shaken by his experience, Winston agrees.

Descartes had had a similar problem with mathematical evidence. Afraid that there might be a malin génie, an evil power confusing human thought, he seriously considered the possibility that the evidence of reason might be unreliable. His confidence is restored, though, when he reflects on his faith in God and realizes that a Dieu véridique would never allow such a possibility.

For Winston, an unbeliever, there is no such recourse. Thus, when he falls into the hands of Big Brother (Orwell's malin génie), he is helpless. Mathematical evidence itself gives way, therefore, and two plus two now add up to five.

All is not lost, however, there is still one area which the System has not touched: the deepest self, the "inner heart." The mind may have capitulated, but this inner sanctum remains "inviolate." Winston therefore imagines that it will be possible to conform in every way—the right thoughts, the right feelings, even the right dreams—while retaining, deep inside, the feedom to hate. Thus, moments before that inevitable bullet pierces his brain, the camouflage would come down, the hatred flare up and he would die unreconciled. "To die hating them, that was freedom."

But once again Winston is proved wrong. The turning point is Room 101, where he discovers the depth of his selfishness: he was actually prepared to interpose Julia between himself and the rats! "Do it to Julia! ... I don't care what you do to her. Tear her face off, strip her to the bones. Not me! Julia! Not me!" This ends his self-respect and removes any reason he might have had for clinging to his precious individuality. He wasn't superior to the State, the State was superior to him. We shall "fill you with ourselves," O'Brien had predicted. This was no longer a threat, it was a privilege. The novel therefore ends on a note of total despair. And it is hard to imagine a better way of conveying such despair than in those four final words: "He loved Big Brother."

Orwell is hardly the first thus to describe the plight of the individual. A hundred years before, Kierkegaard had talked of the "levelling" process in society, and many since then--thinkers, novelists, artists--have portrayed the individual as seriously threatened. Few, however, paint quite as gloomy a picture as does 1984. Now the question is: Is this merely the pessimism of one man-- George Orwell--or does it truly reflect the present reality? In other words, are we justified in calling 1984 a prophetic vision?

To answer this question, let us first remind ourselves of the prophet's task. Our discussion earlier leads us to conclude that the prophet is doing two things: he is making a statement about the present, and implicitly (or explicitly) he is saying something about the future. In other words, he is describing actuality and thereby pointing to future possibilities.

Now in Orwell's case, the central actuality is the loss of individual values; and the possibility which arises from this is the totalitarian world-- 1984. But is this true? Are there really signs pointing to such an eventuality?

If, like Orwell himself, we look at the root of the problem-- the decay of Christianity--we shall have to agree that the signs are there. Our loss of faith, particularly in immortality, makes it very difficult, Orwell believes, to resist totalitarianism . "There is little doubt," he wrote in 1944, "that the modern cult of power worship is bound up with the modern man's feeling that life here and now is the only life there is. If death ends everything, it becomes much harder to believe that you can be in the right even if you are defeated." How true. If there is no God, if this life is all there is, how can I avoid losing confidence in personal values? Collingwood felt the same concern, and in a 1940 article ("Fascism and Nazism") he warns the Western world that unless it recovers its faith, which is the basis of individual values, it is in danger of being swept away by the tide of totalitarianism. Orwell therefore seems to have been correct in thinking that 1984, or something like it, was possible. The conditions are there. The individual is in

serious trouble. The problem is: What can be done about it?

Like the atheistic existentialists, Orwell believed it was possible to hold on to Christian values while repudiating Christian faith. "We have got to be the children of God," he wrote in 1940, "even though the God of the Prayer Book no longer exists." The problem with such reasoning, however, is that experience refutes it. And indeed Orwell himself refutes it in 1984, where, as we have seen, the individual is finally crushed.

Is there no hope then? Is Orwell right when he pictures the future as a boot stamping on a human face--forever?

Not necessarily. What is required, though, is a self-understanding deeper than that which Winston Smith achieves, a self-understanding which includes the realization that if I am, then God is: sum ergo Deus est. Such self-knowledge, such faith, is the only defence against Big Brother. Without it 1984 is inevitable.

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"The glory of God is human beings fully alive; the life of human beings is the vision of God."

(Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. IV. 20.7)

With visions of George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty Four in our minds this year we may easily forget that it is special also to us at McGill University: 1984 is the 100th anniversary of the admission of women students to the University. Very appropriately, this year McGill will have its first woman Visitor, the Governor General designate of Canada (1)

On Monday, October 6, 1884, McGill University opened its doors-- somewhat reluctantly--to its first women students: twenty-eight in all or 15 per cent of the total enrolment. That they were admitted in 1884 is largely due to the generosity of Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona) who gave a donation of $50,000 "to be invested by the Board of the Royal Institution, Governors of McGill College and the income thereof to be employed in sustaining a College for Women, with Classes for their education in Collegiate Studies; the same to be wholly under the management and control of the Corporation of McGill University." (2) The climate was right; discussion had been going on for several years between the Principal, Sir William Dawson, and the proponents of higher education for women. By providing the funds to support the education of women at McGill, Lord Strathcona overcame the last obstacle.

The issue of higher education for women--whether at McGill or anywhere--has been highly controversial for as long as, one might say, women and education have been in existence. Barring the occasional exception, in the western European cultural tradition of which we are the inheritors, young women were not encouraged to pursue the formal studies which their male counterparts were undertaking. It was not ladylike nor seemly nor was it thought necessary as a wifely accomplishment. By the mid-19th century in England and in the United States (the two countries whose ideas had probably the greatest influence on Canada and on McGill at that time), the situation had changed a little. Oxford and Cambridge allowed women to attend lectures but denied them a degree until 1920, in the case of Oxford, and 1948 for Cambridge. Undoubtedly, however, John Ruskin's comment when asked to allow women to attend his lectures, "I cannot let the bonnets in on any condition this term," (3) reflected a fairly common attitude towards women in higher education. In the United States several women's colleges, Vassar, Radcliffe and Bryn Mawr among them, were founded in the latter half of the 19th century. Though separate education seemed to be the ideal for that century, co-education proved to be the norm in the West. Separate establishments would have made the cost prohibitive. (4)

The first college in Canada to grant a degree to a woman was Mt. Allison, N.B. Grace Annie Lockhart received a B.Sc. in 1875 after a three-year programme. This made her the first woman in the British Empire to receive a degree. In 1882 and 1883 the same college awarded Harriet Starr Stewart a B.A. and an M.A. respectively. By 1889, Acadia, Queen's, Dalhousie, Toronto, Manitoba and New Brunswick had awarded degrees to women. Laval and the Universite de Montreal waited until the 20th century. Thus despite its footdragging, McGill was not all that far behind, and indeed was the first in Quebec. (5)

At McGill separate instruction for women students was thought at that time to be essential, so several arrangements had to be made before October 6, 1884. Lectures had to be repeated, a chaperone had to be hired and separate classrooms, waiting rooms, etc. had to be provided. At first, women's classes were held in the Redpath Museum but once the Arts Building had been suitably altered, classes were held there. Royal Victoria College, another manifestation of Lord Strathcona's generosity to McGill, was not opened until 1899.

On April 30, 1888, the first class of women graduated. Of the original seven undergraduates, a few had withdrawn before completion of their degree and a few others had joined, making eight women in the class of '88: Eliza Cross, Blanche Evans, Georgina Hunter, Donalda McFee, Martha Murphy, Alice Murray, Jane V. Palmer and Octavia Grace Ritchie.

Not without a good deal of both heartache and triumph the education of women at McGill moved steadily forward. Although in her Valedictory Address Octavia Ritchie had pleaded for the admission of women to Medicine, this occurred only in 1917 and the first class graduated in 1922. Curiously, an early Donalda (as women at McGill were often called, after their patron, Donald Smith), Maude Abbot (B.A. 1890, M.D. Bishop's 1894) was allowed to teach in the Faculty of Medicine long before it admitted women as students. The Faculty of Law admitted a woman in 1911. She graduated with a B.C.L. in 1914 but was not permitted to practise in Quebec. As women could not vote--in Quebec until 1940--this was not too inconsistent with the times. Gradually the study of the other hitherto male professions became available to women at McGill. A thorough and very readable account of the history of women at McGill can be found in Gillett's We Walked Very Warily, from which much of this brief introduction has been taken.

The formal study of Christian theology and ordination to the ministry have traditionally existed in mutual dependence. And, by and large, this has excluded women. With only a few exceptions, most of the major Protestant denominations have just recently opened their ranks to women as ordained ministers. Obviously this has determined the presence and/or absence of women in and around seminaries and, therefore, in and around Divinity Hall. An account of the story of women studying theology at McGill has to begin in 1948 with the establishment of the Faculty of

Divinity. Up to that time candidates for the ministry studied either at their own colleges or at McGill but obtained their degrees from their own theological colleges.

During the early years of the Faculty's life, there were not many students of either sex in the Bachelor of Divinity programme. However, courses in religion were offered to students in the Faculty of Arts and Science and this, together with the introduction of the S.T.M. in 1950, began to increase the number of students in Divinity Hall. From nineteen in 1948, the numbers grew to forty-nine undergraduate and twenty-one graduate students in 1957/58. Of these a few were women. Some were studying out of interest, some for church-related work and some, usually only one or two per year, were ordinands--at this time with the United Church of Canada. A brief examination of the files and the listing of B.D. theses in the FRS Library yielded the following information: During the period 1951-1969 only seven names appear of women who received the B.D. degree. These were: Margaret Assels, B.D. 1951, Annabel Daisy MacNeill, B.D. 1960, Eleanor Carr, B.D. 1961, Donna R. Runnalls, B.D. 1964, Barbara E. Simons, B.D. 1964, Phyllis N. Smyth, B.D. 1964 and M. Elizabeth Praamsma, B.D. 1967. This does not represent an entirely true picture of the situation: several other women undertook the course of study successfully but did not register with McGill as B.D. candidates. And some others, at least one hundred or more, were registered with another Faculty but attended some of the courses in religion which were given by the Faculty of Divinity.

The 1970s brought a great many changes, not a few of which had a good deal of bearing on the presence of women in religious studies at McGill. Presbyterian College rejoined the Faculty of Divinity in 1969 after an absence of some 44 years. It had been admitting women as ordinands since 1965. The most significant change, however, came about with the change of name of the Faculty of Divinity to that of the Faculty of Religious Studies in 1970. (6) The new name reflected the change of emphasis which the Faculty was undergoing. Dean Johnston wrote in his annual report of 1970/71: "...our new definition requires greater emphasis on the study of all the major faiths of mankind and a turning quite deliberately into the mainstream of University affairs..." (7) From this time on, there was a marked increase in the number of students who were studying religion for purposes other than that of ordination. (8) But also at this time there began an increase in the number of women who felt called to the ministry. Heretofore there had been relatively few at McGill. By the end of the decade the three churches which customarily supply male ordinands were also supplying women candidates for the ministry. This very distinct change in the balance of male/female students can be seen from the following figures which are taken from the report sent annually to the American Association of Theological Schools. (Prior to 1976/77 there was no breakdown by sex.)

	B.Th.		Graduate (S.T.M., M.A., Ph.D.)	
	male	female	male	female
1976/77	33	14	44	16
1977/78	42	27	60	25
1978/79	37	17	58	18
1979/80	37	21	50	19
1980/81	37	13	52	22
1981/82	36	20	52	16
1982/83	33	15	48	25
1983/84	28	16	64	28

Over the years, and especially during the early years when women students were still somewhat of a novelty in the Faculty of Divinity, the Deans have played a very important and supportive role. The second Dean, Dr. J.S. Thomson, Dean of the Faculty from 1949 until 1957, may have had a few difficulties in coming to terms with the fact that some of his "little girls" (as he allegedly called the women students) were candidates for the ministry. It seems he felt more comfortable with the idea of their becoming church workers or teachers. Dr. Stanley Frost succeeded Dr. Thomson as Dean from 1957 until 1963. All women using the Birks Building, 3520 University Street, owe him a debt of gratitude for, among other things, the ladies' washroom which he took from the men students! Dr. Frost recalled a dilemma--amusing in retrospect, but probably quite serious twenty-five years ago--which he and one of his women B.D. students had to face. She was thinking seriously of entering a campus beauty contest and came to him for advice. She was well qualified to enter, he recalled, but he had to point out to her the pitfalls that would lie ahead of her if she did. Needless to say, she did not enter the contest. In 1960, the year in which she received her B.D., Annabel Daisy MacNeill, B.A., M.A., B.D., joined the Faculty of Education as a Lecturer. In due course she was promoted to Assistant Professor and then to Associate Professor. She retired in 1981 after a 21-year teaching career at McGill.

The first year of Dr. Eric Jay's Deanship (1963-1970) saw three women receive a B.D.: Donna Runnalls, Barbara Simons and Phyllis Smyth. Dr. Runnalls is now an Associate Professor with the Faculty of Religious Studies. Dr. Smyth, after some years of parish ministry in the Montreal area, including Dominion-Douglas in Westmount, is an Associate Professor with the Faculty of Medicine and is working with the Royal Victoria Hospital's Palliative Care Unit.

In 1970 Dr. George Johnston assumed the Deanship. More than his predecessors he seems to have been very instrumental in promoting the opportunities for women in religious studies. During his deanship two women, Dr. Runnalls and Dr. Erin Malloy-Hanley, were appointed to the teaching staff. Both have contributed to the betterment of women as

staff and as students at the University. In all fairness perhaps it should be noted that Deans may have had little choice in the matter: with the student body being somewhere in the neighbourhood of thirty per cent female, it is difficult to ignore them

There is more involved than mere numbers, however. Dr. Runnalls made an interesting observation which seems to go a long way towards explaining why the position of women in this Faculty was not and is not fraught with the emotion that often characterized other faculties. This is the underlying assumption of the equality of all people under God. As both student and faculty member she does not recall having ever experienced any of the embarrassing or uncomfortable moments that many women had to undergo in other institutions. Today's women students seem to blossom in their studies. More often than not they top their year in academic achievement and take their share in leadership. The challenge to grow and expand as people--not as women or as men--and the response to that challenge is one of the most exciting aspects of being a part of the Faculty of Religious Studies.

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DOES ONE RELIGIOUS TRADITION HELP UNDERSTAND ANOTHER?

Arvind Sharma

This paper makes the claim that one religious tradition helps in understanding another, that a knowledge of tradition B helps us in understanding tradition A better and that the resulting phenomenon of enhanced understanding may be described as one of "reciprocal illumination." One is tempted to wonder whether this approach by itself can constitute a vector of "dominant theorizing" in the field of the study of religion but it is rather early in the day to raise such a question. (1) The rest of the paper must proceed, more modestly, to substantiate its claim with examples drawn from Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

HINDUISM

An understanding of the doctrine of Karma is central to an understanding of the Hindu religious tradition. (2) This doctrine is variously formulated in that tradition--reflecting virtually all the intervening shades of opinion between the two extreme positions of complete free-will on one hand (3) and complete predeterminism on the other. (4) The standard view of the doctrine steers a course somewhat midway between these two extremes and classifies Karma as consisting of three types: Āgāmi or forthcoming Karma, Sañcita or accumulated Karma and Prārabdha or Fate. The interrelationship between these types holds the key to the proper understanding of the standard version of the doctrine. The following statement about it must suffice here.

> Hindu thinkers distinguish three kinds of karma; sañcita, prārabdha and āgāmi. Sañcita is all the accumulated karma of the past. Part of it is seen in the inclinations and desires, etc. Prārabdha is that portion of the past karma which is responsible for the present body. Āgāmi is the coming karma which includes also the karma that is being gathered at present. An apt analogy is usually given to bring home to our minds the element of freedom that karma involves. Imagine a bowman, with a quiver of arrows, taking aim at a target. He has already sent a shaft; and another arrow he is about to shoot. The bundle of arrows in the quiver on his back is the sañcita; the arrow he has shot is prārabdha; and the one which he is about to send forth from his bow is āgāmi. Of these, he has perfect control over the sañcita and āgāmi; it is only the prārabdha that cannot but take effect. Man has the freedom to reform his character and alter his ways. Only the past which has begun to take effect he has to suffer. (5)

A student of the Hindu religious tradition is likely to be familiar with this trichotomy of Karma but I put it to you that the three categories seem to become clearer than ever and their experiential content becomes

more explicit when one considers them in the light of the following Serenity Prayer used by Alcoholics Anonymous:

> God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference. (6)

The serenity to accept the things one cannot change is obviously the proper mental attitude towards Prārabdha Karma; the courage to change the things one can, seems to reflect the proper attitude towards Sañcita Karma which is in the process of but has not yet become Prārabdha. The wisdom to know the difference constitutes present Karma.

BUDDHISM

One of the distinguishing features of the Buddhist relgious tradition is the Bodhisattva ideal. (7) This ideal is typically contrasted with that of the Arhat who seeks Nirvāṇa only for himself while the Bodhisattva, by contrast, postpones his own salvation for the sake of others. (8) This explanation of the difference, though popular, did not quite seem to click. For the greatest gift conceived of in Buddhism is that of Dharma but how could one who had himself not realized Nirvāṇa presume to guide others to it? Such doubts about the above mentioned description of the Bodhisattva are only aggravated by the answer given by Milarepa, the twelfth century Tibetan mystic, to the question: could the disciples "engage in worldly duties, in a small way, for the benefit of others?" Milarepa said:

> If there be not the least self-interest attached to such duties, it is permissible. But such detachment is indeed rare; and works performed for the good of others seldom succeed, if not wholly freed from self-interest. Even without seeking to benefit others, it is with difficulty that works done even in one's own interest are successful. It is as if a man helplessly drowning were to try to save another man in the same predicament. One should not be over-anxious and hasty in setting out to serve others before one has oneself realized the Truth in its fulness; to do so, would be like the blind leading the blind. As long as the sky endures, so long will there be no end of sentient beings for one to serve; and to every one comes the opportunity for such service. Till the opportunity comes, I exhort each of you to have but the one resolve, namely to attain Buddhahood for the good of all living beings. (9)

Yet both the aspects of the situation, that of the Boddhisattva seeking salvation for himself and seeking it for the sake of others seem to fall into place when the situation is viewed in the light of the following statement by Hillel:

> He used to say: If I am not for myself who is for me? and being

> for mine own self what am I? and if not now, when? (M. Aboth, 1.14).

CONFUCIANISM

The example from Confucianism is initially rather circuitous both textually and contextually. It relates to the 36th verse of th XIVth Book of Lun Yü, a verse which is translated by Arthur Waley as follows:

> Someone said, What about the saying "Meet resentment with inner power (tê)"? The Master said, In that case, how is one to meet inner power? Rather, meet resentment with upright dealing and meet inner power with inner power. (10)

This translation seem literal to the point of being opaque so one may turn to another. Another translation runs as follows:

> Someone inquired: "What do you think of 'requiting injury with kindness'?" Confucius said: "How will you then requite kindness? Requite injury with justice, and kindness with kindness." (XIV:36) (11)

This brings the verse more within one's reach but not quite within one's grasp. The full force of the statement, however, seems to come home when the verse is placed in the context of the Christian ethic of returning evil with good. It is when Confucius' statement is paraphrased in these terms, one may venture to suggest, that its full impact is felt, for then it would read thus: Confucius is asked: "What would you say concerning the principle that one should return evil with good?" Confucius replies: "If you return evil with good, what will you return good with? Therefore return evil with justice and good with good."

A lofty pragmatism thus replaces the unilateral altruism of the Christian teaching. One may now proceed to explore further the pragmatism generally regarded as characteristic of Confucius' teaching. The statement and its logic is clear--but its intentionality may still prove elusive. Another verse from the Analects which possesses a similar flavour helps:

> Tzu-kung asked, saying, What would you feel about a man who was loved by all his fellow-villagers? The Master said, That is not enough.
>
> What would you feel about a man who was hated by all his fellow-villagers? The Master said, That is not enough. Best of all would be that the good people in his village loved him and the bad hated him. (12)

These statements are not made directly as applying to the true gentleman

but the context leaves little doubt that they are meant to.

These contours of the character of the true gentleman remained merely outlines for a long time. It was while studying the Bhagavadgītā that their full import became clear. The Mahābhārata war itself is a case of returning evil with justice--the Pāṇḍavas are portrayed as suffering the evils perpetrated by the Kauravas and finally fighting back in the interest of justice. The case of the true gentleman being loved by the good and being hated by the wicked is also instructive. I think the key point to note, as one of my students pointed out, is that although the wicked hate the true gentleman, the true gentleman does not hate the wicked. He chastises them. In the Bhagavadgītā Arjuna is never shown as hating the Kauravas; in the early chapters he is shown as pitying them, and himself, but not hating them. In the portrayal of the realized man in the Bhagavadgītā whether as the Sthitaprajña (II. 55-72), as one who has attained Brahmanirvāṇa (V. 17-28), as the devotee or Bhakta (XII. 13-20) or as the Guṇātīta (XIV) equanimity and absence of enmity is emphasized. Actually absence of enmity is emphasized repeatedly (XI.55, XXVIII. 54), which on the face of it seems rather a strange fact for a text in which Arjuna is exhorted to engage in combat.

This suggests the perspective that the frame of mind with which an act is performed is as important an aspect of the situation as the act itself. It may be said that Kṛṣṇa, and Confucius, care as much for the adverb as for the verb.

TAOISM

The profoundly enigmatic Tao Tê Ching sometimes leaves the reader in a state of sublime stupefaction. One senses that something profound has been said but one is not quite sure as to what it is. Consider for instance the following selection from the Twenty-Seventh Chapter:

> 27. 1. The skilful traveller leaves no traces of his wheels or footsteps; the skilful speaker says nothing that can be found fault with or blamed; the skilful reckoner uses no tallies; the skilful closer needs no bolts or bars, while to open what he has shut will be impossible: the skilful binder uses no string or knots, while to unloose what he has bound will be impossible. In the same way the sage is always skilful at saving men, and so he does not cast away any man; he is always skilful at saving things, and so he does not cast away anything. This is called 'Hiding the light of his procedure." (13)

The passage is formidable; let us consider only the first line thus paraphrased. "One may move so well that a footprint never shows."

The line lingered on the horizon of non-comphrehension for years, a few flashes were produced by the Upaniṣadic statement that the realized being

moves in the world like a bird through the air or the fish through water--without leaving a trace. But moving on terra firma is a different matter. How could one move without leaving a footprint?

Illumination came from a parable encountered, in the context of Kāśmīra Śaivism (14) although the parable itself may have been appropriated by it from elsewhere. It goes as follows. God and devotee are walking on the seashore engaged in conversation. The devotee says to God: "As I look back upon my life I can see two sets of footprints on the shore stretching out into the past. One of them is mine and the other yours--walking beside me. But what baffles me is that there are spots where I see only one set of footprints." And God responds by saying: "That was when I was carrying you."

There are, of course, Taoist explanations of what it means to move without leaving a footprint behind--one way of doing which would perhaps be to step into the footprints left by the previous traveller. But that an illustration from Theism should seem to shed light on Taoism is not without its element of serendipitous synchronicity.

JUDAISM

To an Indian, with a long history of political domination by others, the response of other peoples to the loss of political power is not without interest. The destruction of the Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70. is an acknowledged turning-point in the history of Judaism and for one trying to understand its significance it is perhaps useful to distinguish between what may be called the Masada syndrome and the Jamnia syndrome. (15) As the tragic events surrounding the fall of Masada amply illustrate, military resistance to the Romans was doomed to failure. It was the rise of Rabbinic Judaism, with its beginnings in the school set up by Yohanan Ben Zakkai, that ultimately "saved" Judaism.

There was something perplexing in this course of events when peace or rather submission produced a victory greater than that of war for a defeated people. Then one day, while scouting Ḥadīth literature in preparation for a class on Islam, the following saying of the Prophet Muḥammad arrested attention--actually a well-known saying, as one soon discovered. It simply ran: "The ink of the scholar is more sacred than the blood of the martyr." (16)As one read it the events of the history of Judaism in the first century A.D. were recapitulated in a lucid flash with the intensity and clarity of the proverbial drowning man.

CHRISTIANITY

To a non-Christian Christianity can be puzzling. Although, of course "no concept in Christendom has enjoyed greater reputation for obscurity" (17) than the doctrine of the Trinity, for the moment the doctrine of virgin birth may be examined (Luke 1.26-31; Matthew 1.18-21). The

traditional explanation that original sin of Adam is transmittted through carnal conception and that virgin birth ensured Jesus' freedom therefrom still seemed too ingrown until insights from Islam came into play. First came the realization that the virgin birth of Jesus is accepted in the Qur'ān (iii.47; iv.171). It was an interesting bit of information but by itself contributed nothing further to an understanding of virgin birth. It did, however, orient the mind towards Islam, wherein the doctrine of the illiteracy of the Prophet (18) had been somewhat of a puzzle, given the celebration of learning in the Qur'ān itself, in fact in the very first verse revealed to the Prophet according to tradition. (19) It was the resolution of this point which finally led me back to virgin birth.

Once the fact that the Qur'ān is literally the word of God is accepted then the insistence by tradition on the illiteracy of the Prophet would make sense in this way, that the Prophet did not contaminate God's words with his own. He had no more reason to be literate than a mouthpiece has to be. The purity of the verbal revelation of the Qur'ān was thereby ensured. Now the point has often been made that the proper comparison is not so much between Muḥammad and Jesus as between the Qur'ān and Jesus for just as the Qur'ān represents revelation in Islam, Jesus represents the revelation in Christianity --the word becoming flesh. (20) If such indeed be the case then it is easy to see how conception by a virgin would correspond to the reception of the Qur'ān by an illiterate Prophet. In both cases the stake seems to be the same --that of safeguarding the purity of the revelation by ensuring that it was not contaminated by the channel through which it was received.

ISLAM

The issue of the relationship between God's will and man's will or the issue of Karar has been regarded as one of the subtler ones in Kalām or Islamic theology. (21) Various points have been made in this connection: that the Qur'ān leaves the question of divine omnipotence and individual moral responsibility unreconciled, asserting both; or that in Islam while the supremacy of God's will is asserted in general theoretically, practically men are regarded as morally responsible for their own actions. None of these reconciliations seemed quite satisfactory. (22) My study of Buddhist philosophy, however, proved to be a turning point in this context.

Mahāyāna Buddhism developed the doctrine of the two levels of truth--the conventional and the ultimate. (23) One need not get involved with the philosophical subtleties of the Mahāyāna schools to recognize the applicability of this distinction. We encounter it in the course of daily life all the time. In daily life we know that a currency note is really paper, but we treat it as if it were money! We know that the surface of the earth is spherical, we move about as if it is flat. We do not worry about rolling off it nor do we take its curvature into account as we go around Chicago. The idea of two levels of truth is not a mere

philosophical construct; it is a given of daily existence.

If we now approach the question of God's will and man's will in Islam--equipped with this insight--the dilemma seems more amenable to resolution. Thus ontologically everything could depend on God--could be God's will--but morally man could still be responsible for his own actions. The fact of gravity makes both falling and walking possible. If we trip by walking too fast the responsibility is ours and not gravity's--though the activity of walking itself remains dependent on the force of gravity.

CONCLUSION

We have now considered seven instances of reciprocal illumination, cases in which our understanding of a Hindu doctrine was furthered by a Christian prayer; of a Buddhist ideal by a Rabbinic saying; of a statement of Confucius by a Hindu text; of a line from the Tao Tê Ching by Hindu theism; of a turning-point in the history of Judaism by a Ḥadīth; of virgin birth by an Islamic parallel and of a theological issue in Islam by a distinction drawn from Buddhist philosophy. It does not, therefore, seem too far-fetched to maintain that one religious tradition ineed helps understand another, that one tradition sheds light on another and that the horizon of the comparative study of religion may at least occasionally be lit up by a phenomenon we may choose to describe as reciprocal illumination.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

A conference on Paradigm Shifts in Buddhism and Christianity was held in Honolulu (January 3-11, 1984). The Conference Director, David W. Chappell, is an alumnus of McGill (B.D. 1964).

The conference applied Thomas Kuhn's analysis of paradigm shifts in the history of science to Christianity and Buddhism. Hans Kung extended the analysis to Christianity in a keynote paper and the conference explored the extent to whichsuch an exercise could be successfully carried out in the context of Christianity, Buddhism and in a comparison of the two as cultural systems.

It was a very stimulating conference, truly international in character, and provided a unique forum for furthering Christian-Buddhist dialogue.

Arvind Sharma

LA VIE CHRETIENNE

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A FUTURE FOR MISSION? FROM APOLOGETICS TO TRANSPOSITION

Joseph C. McLelland

The subject of attitudes among world religions has been on the agenda of our Faculty since the late fifties thanks to Wilfred Smith's pioneering work in Comparative Studies. The special case of Christian Mission is always a hot topic, and currently forms the theme of a senior B.Th. interdisciplinary course. To contribute to the discussion, I propose that we can discern three stages in the brief history of modern missions, particularly in their Protestant form, which may serve as a sort of typology of a remarkable venture in outreach.

TYPE ONE: BRANDS FROM THE BURNING

"Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?" (Zechariah 3:2). The ancient prophet's words served as a kind of paradigm for the early generations of "Foreign Missions". When Adoniram Judson was blocked from India by the East India Company after only ten days in Calcutta, the English Baptists at Serampore recommended the Moluccas, because "fifty thousand souls are there perishing". (Incidentally, the Company forbade evangelism because it might incite rebellion; as the Indian Mutiny subsequently showed, it probably did!)

Like most scriptural tags, Zechariah's words were misused. His vision of the Satan accusing Joshua had little to do with rescuing heathen perishing in hellfire. But the image is typical of the theology of mission(s) of the modern age. The dilemma can be traced back to the Council convened in Valladolid in 1550 to advise Emperor Charles V on strategy regarding the New World. In brief, should they "wage war on the Indians before preaching the faith to them... so that afterwards they may more easily be instructed in the faith?" Pope Paul III's bull Sublimis Deus had already denied the right to enslave American Indians, largely reflecting the wisdom of Bartolome de la Casas, who had sailed with Columbus, been the first priest ordained in the New World, and recoiled with horror at the mistreatment of natives (Historia de las Indias).

The temptation to enforce and enslave haunted every venture into new territory. Romantic notions of colonization and civilization complicated the need for a theology of evangelism. But the "poor benighted heathen" were seen through the eyes of Kipling's rude Tommies. Their rituals were derided, their images taken for idols, their religion reduced to superstitition--as Christianity itself had once been classed as mere superstitition (deisidaimonia) by the sophisticates of Greece and Rome.

One can sympathize with the absolutist attitude of those times. After all, when Protestants could consider the Pope as Antichrist and Roman Catholics as lost souls bound for hell (an estimate not without its lingering presence in Quebec today, one suspects) then it were little

wonder that "non-Christian" religions were dismissed as lacking all saving efficacy. Moreover, the profound ignorance about those religions continued until their scriptures began to be translated (e.g. by Max Mueller at the end of the 19th century) and their tenets became better known. But it is only in recent decades that such familiarity has become somewhat broader, while it has not yet permeated the Church with any degree of correction of older and absolutist theology. I suspect we are still in the age of A.B. Bruce, whose apologetic conclusion was that any comparison of Christ with other Masters would show his superiority and that of the Christian religion: Light of the World (Apologetics 1892).

The burning brand paradigm was matched by the discipline of Apologetics, robust partner of Dogmatics and Symbolics. Christian faith was considered the ideal type or standard, verifiable by internal arguments from miracle and prophecy, and from external results of evangelism. But two things were missing. One was what we now call "the sociology of knowledge", the qualifying context of every position; the other was a lack of critical judgement about "results". Since there was little sense of control groups to judge results, there was no attempt to develop a typology or structural approach to evangelism or mission. For instance, notoriously the "best" targets for evangelism were tribal societies with animistic religion. We mentioned Judson above (a remarkably knowledgeable pioneer missionary): his success among the Karens did not blind him to the different challenge of the Burmese Buddhists. If one applies this criterion to other areas one sees the question: what is the theological reason for varying results of evangelism/mission? For instance, experience suggests that conversion occurs in a positive manner at the relatively "low" level of animism but encounters increasing difficulty with higher religious forms. One might compare "results" in India between Bhil and Brahmin groups, for instance. And why is Islam as a whole the hardest case?

TYPE TWO: COMPARISON

As research and experience developed, better acquaintance with the data of world religions, the discipline of Comparative Studies (or History of Religions) sought better methods of analyzing and interpreting. The classic debate between "Kraemerism" and liberalism illustrates the demand for less simplistic and reductionist appraisal of other faiths. In fact, Hendrik Kraemer himself (The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World, 1938, and Religion and the Christian Faith, 1956) was misunderstood by Kraemerism, as if he advocated displacement of non-Christian religions, discarding them once the Gospel is accepted. Rather, he called us to "translate", "interpret" and "incarnate" Christianity, a process he called adaptation.

> Europeans can proffer no reasonable objection to adaptation in the sense of various chracteristically Asiatic or African expressions, because their own national and regional Christianity, which they

often cherish highly, are all adaptations.

The idea of "comparing" religions was often naive and arrogant, inasmuch as Christianity was assumed as touchstone. The apologetic stance, moreover, assumed a christology more Monophysite or Docetic than Chalcedonian or Nicene. The divinity of the Christ so dominated the humanity that the equation "Jesus is God" might be its summary. Myth and ritual, rites de passage, festival and pilgrimage—all were to be judged by the narrow criterion of what was taken to be orthodox Western Church doctrine and lifestyle.

Thus the positive thrust of both Comparative Religion and the concept of adaptation was often lost in the continuing "dominance syndrome" of Western missionary theology. Nor can one avoid the admission of "ideology" to such theology, rooted in certain fixed ideas and reifications. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has analyzed this phenomenon exhaustively (e.g. The Meaning and End of Religion, 1962, written while he was a member of our Faculty). He notes that it is a Western idea that there are entities to be denoted "religions". Tracing the origin and development of this "reified concept" which flowered in the late medieval and Renaissance period, he clarifies the significant fact that the concept arrived full-blown only with related concept of secularization (i.e. religion/secular rather than sacred/profane). Smith holds that the unreality of this conceptual approach has served badly the need to develop an appropriate method of interpreting the data of human faith. His further distinction between "cumulative tradition", observable and understandable by outsiders, and "faith", lying beyond the sector of objective knowledge, has been a major contribution to religious studies in recent decades.

But the danger of Comparative Studies and even the positive model of adaptation lies in the fact that it might encourage a simplistic view of the relation between cultures and "religions". It was easy to adopt the image of all paths leading to the mountain-top, various religious quests converging on Mount Fuji. But the data themselves showed that difference is more significant than likeness, and that convergence founders on the hard facts of opposing views. D.T. Suzuki, for instance, was helpfully frank in comparing--and contrasting—the tranquil Buddha with the agonized Crucified. He did not think that one could choose both.

The dilemma was recognized at the New Delhi meeting of the World Council of Churches, which authorized a study of "The Finality of Jesus Christ in the Age of Universal History" (see J. Pelikan's book of that title on 3rd century figures). The Early Church began by understanding finality as eschaton. With the Constantinian era the dominant view shifted to finality as imperium. That is, the polarity of finality and universality demands re-thinking in an age of "universal history", a new unity and awareness in global terms. In earlier days, the Logos christology offered solution to apologists such as Justin Martyr and the Alexandrian

Fathers. Our modern shift of theological emphasis to the idea of "God" fastens on less complex problems (can God be named? can God suffer? can God "exist"?), and so misses the heart of older apologetics. For the latter, the dynamism of the Triunity afforded food for thinking about the universality of the Incarnation and its "scope". Today we are still working out the categories for comparison among religions. This is a slow and painful process, much more demanding than exegesis and homiletics. But unless it goes along in tandem with traditional ministerial pursuits, the church will miss the true contours of its calling today and tomorrow.

One does not need to be a world traveller to understand what "mission" means. Today the world has formed a new combination of elements. It was illustrated for me recently on noticing the sorts of people seated in the commuter train carriage one morning. People from my own neighbourhood--my "neighbours" in the biblical sense. Besides Christians and Jews (an their secular counterparts) we included a Sikh, a Hindu, a Muslim and devotees of one of our New Religions. Microcosm--or anticipation of what's ahead?

TYPE THREE: TRANSPOSITION

A third type of missionary strategy is emerging these days. It could be termed "dialogue" if that stance suggests more than merely talk. An openness and engagement which opens on Truth is demanded. As every dialogist knows, the paradox of dialogue is that one knows and values one's own position only when this is placed in the crucible of testing in relation to others, whether different or even threatening.

The word I prefer for this type is that suggested by C.S. Song (our '84 Birks Lecturer)-- transposition. By this he means that Christian faith needs to shed its Western robes in exchange for different cultural clothing. This familiar plea is terribly hard to honour. Our robes are more like a skin, since we cannot even begin to understand how to remove it. Song's writings (Christian Mission in Reconstruction, Third-Eye Theology, The Compassionate God) follow the leading of Daniel T. Niles and Shoki Coe (his predecessor at Tainan Seminary) in struggling with the task of "Confessing the Faith in Asia Today" (theme of the first Asian Faith and Order Conference, Hong Kong, 1966).

Transposing has parallels in music and elsewhere. In Mission it means an alternative to the traditional "effort on the part of Western churches to incorporate the masses of humanity in Asia into 'salvation history' as they saw it". In Asia this is particularly crucial: if the world population of Christians is estimated at less than 20% by 1990, in Asia it is already a mere 3% or so. Why? Perhaps because of a faulty theology of "Christ and Culture", according to D. Preman Niles, Executive Secretary of the Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia, Singapore:

> All the great religions in Asia have formed their own cultures. With the possible exception of the Philippines, Christianity has not.

That quotation is from the introduction to the symposium Minjung Theology: People as the subject of history (ed. Kim Yong Bock, Singapore: CCA, 1981). The Korean word minjung means "people", particularly the poor and oppressed. It is linked with biblical concepts in the symposium by biblical scholars, while its history in Korea is traced by one of our own graduates, Choo Chai-yong of Hankuk (Ph.D. '74). In general, the volume presents a case study in transposition. The idigenous category of minjung has been related to Gospel in positive ways which lie outside our Western sensibilities. For instance, the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (PROK), a partner of the United Church of Canada, chose as its theme for its 1983 General Assembly: "PROK - with the minjung, for the nation, to the ends of the earth." (See the UCC Mandate magazine, Jan-Feb '84.)

Whether minjung theology is merely a political messianism or reflects an authentic transposition honouring both Gospel and Korean context remains to be seen. Many of our Western transpositions have proved abortive or should have. When Western skin was offered to non-Westerns as clothing, the clash of cultures was inevitable. But the awakening of theologians in Asia (and Africa) to the vocation of transposition is both heartening and disturbing. For example: will the Chinese ancestor-reverence resonate with the doctrine of communion of saints? will the spirituality of tranquillity qualify our Western spirituality of aggressive individuality? will yin-yang ontological categories contradict our Hellenistic christology of divine and human "natures"? does the koan solve our problem of dialectical contradiction? is avatar a possible theoretical response to the Christ-event? and so on.

Questions of a penetrating kind. But—this is the significant new thing—now being asked by others of us Westerners. The perennial question of how you "persuade" another into a different belief—the moral/immoral nature of evangelism—is clearly before us today. The hardest problems of theology meet here: knowledge of God, the meaning of persons, freedom and grace. Once there was dialogue; now there is the logical next step: a common quest for answers that will do more than clarify and identify; answers that will pose the oppositions and contradictions in all their autonomy, as the ultimate statement or stance on "finality and universality".

DEAN'S DESK....

Administrators tend to live by statistics, both figures and graphics. A significant record was broken by our January registration-- one hundred graduate students! These include seventeen S.T.M., forty M.A., and forty three Ph.D. We are most gratified at this indication of our Faculty's reputation and attractiveness of programme. But success brings its own problems. Our annual budgets are fixed largely by formula, and recent budget cuts made by governments are notorious. Thus growth no longer means financial increase. It's called "doing more with less" and we are now experts in this sort of economy. The larger graduate seminars, the heavier workload for our Graduate Committee under Professor Wisse, and the supervisory duties of some teaching staff (up to twenty master and doctor candidates for an individual professor) have made this a busy year. Not that it's a matter of complaining--both students and staff enjoy the action and are seeking better ways to develop. We now have a Religious Studies Graduate Students' Society, for instance, with Richard Cooper as President. The Doktorklub has become a lively monthly forum for student and staff dialogue. And our visiting speakers find an interested and informed audience for their lectures. Statistics can be graphic.

In the last issue I spoke of the McGill Advancement Programme, the major fund-raising project now well launched by an impressive team of administrators and graduates. Our Faculty goal is a million dollars: 700,000 for a chair in Urdu for the Institute of Islamic Studies, and 300,000 for several projects in Religious Studies. Details will be reported on in the next issue, but meanwhile I can say that the Institute is well on its way to the Chair funding, while a major project of $100,000 has been funded in the Religious Studies area. We are just planning our public campaign, yet are almost half-way to the goal.

The donation in question is from the Birks Family Foundation, and the fund is for visiting lecturers in Ethics. The idea behind it is the recognition of the burgeoning and complex developments in modern moral theory. Such a fund will allow us to invite experts in various fields and so reflect the nature of ethics in its variety. We are most grateful to the Birks family for their continuing donation to McGill University on our behalf.

The "Birks Event" of 1984--funded from the generous donation at the founding of the Faculty in 1948--promises to be as appealing as that of 1983. Our lecturer is C.S. Song of Taiwan and Geneva, described elsewhere in this issue. Our Graduate Reunions have been successful in recent years, except for the Presbyterians. The recent entry of Presbyterian College into the Faculty means that only graduates since 1970 identify themselves with our Faculty and its Reunion period. How can we improve their attendance?

The Birks Lectures will be followed once again by a symposium. (The word means "common drinking cup" but in our case is almost completely symbolic.) The Zwingli conference being arranged by Professor Edward Furcha, assisted by Andrew Taylor (B.Th. '85) is shaping up well. It will begin October 2nd with a Banquet in the Faculty Club, to be addressed by Professor Ulrich Gäbler of Amsterdam.

Ten other participants from Europe and North America will assist us in recapturing this leading figure of Reform with his penumbra of questions. Why did Zwingli go so far towards radicalism in his reformation? Why did he use the sword on behalf of the Gospel? Who were his medieval ancestors? Why was his musical talent denied in the sanctuary? Was he really the first linguistic analyst? und so weiter.

When you receive your Birks Lectures/Zwingli Conference brochures you'll also find information on a new publishing venture of the Faculty. We plan to publish a series of "ARC Supplements", with Edward Furcha and Joseph McLelland as general editors. The initial volume will be the Luther papers from our 1983 Conference, edited by Dr. Furcha. The Zwingli papers will form another volume, to be followed by occasional monographs or other symposia. Publishing costs have jumped so drastically in recent years that this type of "scholar's press" has become more common in the publishing world. The chief difficulty lies in advertising and distribution rather than in the publishing itself. So we will be looking to ARC readers for support and suggestions in this affair of the mind.

Finally, you may not have seen elsewhere the notice of retroactive B.Th. degrees. We have in mind those "short course" students in the old B.D. programme whose three years of study did not qualify them for the degree, chiefly because they lacked the B.A. prerequisite. Now that we have a B.Th. which requires three years following CEGEP, some of the short-course graduates may qualify, depending on their previous education as well as on their standing during the three years. Any such individuals should write to the Faculty, preferably directly to Professor Furcha, B.Th. Committee Chairman, to explore the possibility.

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1984 BIRKS LECTURER

Choan-Seng SONG (C.S. SONG) from Taiwan is presently director of study on "Called to Witness to the Gospel Today" for the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and regional professor of theology in the South East Asia Graduate School of Theology. He has written extensively in the area of interactions between Christian faith and contemporary social-political and cultural-religious situations, especially those of Asia. His publications include Prelude to a New Era (in Chinese), The Church—its Task and Responsibility (in Chinese), Theology and Practice of Church Unity (in Chinese), Asians and Blacks (with Gayraud Wilmore), Christian Mission in Reconstruction, Third Eye Theology, The Tears of Lady Meng, The Compassionate God, Tell Us Our Names (to be published in 1984).

An ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, he studied philosophy at Taiwan National University, Taiwan, theology at New College, Edinburgh University (B.D.), Basel University, and Union Theological Seminary, New York, (Ph.D). He began his theological teaching as lecturer of the Old Testament at Tainan Theological College in Taiwan, and later became its principal and professor of systematic theology. He was visiting professor of theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, USA (1976-77) and served World Council of Churches' Faith and Order Commission as associate director (1973-1982).

He is married to Mei-Man CHEN and they have two daughters.

NEWS ABOUT OUR GRADUATES

The Reverend John M. Buck (B.D. '53, S.T.M. '61) teaches Physics at the Institute of Technology in Calgary, and serves as assistant minister at St. Stephen's Anglican Church. He writes of his "very positive remembrance of my years of study" at FRS, and the continuing contact through ARC.

Deane M. Perkins (Ph.D. '77) is Associate Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. He was one of the last graduate students in Psychology of Religion, before Professor Monroe Peaston's retirement. Deane has received the Dodge Award for excellence in teaching for 1983; it includes a prize of $1,000. Congratulations, Deane!

Kikuo Matsunaga (Ph.D. '70) has been named President of Tokyo Union Theological Seminary. He continues as Professor of New Testament Theology. Kikuo obtained his doctorate under the direction of Professor George Johnston. On the Dean's visit to the Seminary in 1982 he served as translator for his lectures and sermon. He has been serving a congregation in Tokyo but now has moved to the campus President's residence. Special congratulations from the Faculty! (The address: Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, 3-10-30 Osawa, Mitaka, Tokyo 181.)

The class of "Theology '83" is a model for keeping in contact. Its class representative and agent, Sandra MacNevin, has circulated a Newsletter, through the office of The Graduate Society (3605 Mountain Street). In two pages she describes the situation of class members since graduation. It's "truly a 'diaspora'" since it includes Bernard Kariuki in Nairobi and Kent Chown in Hong Kong. Bernard ministers to a parish of some 30,000 people and four churches. His wife Helen is the Bishop's secretary. Kent is continuing theological studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Another classmate is Edgar Heinsoo, a more "senior" student whose enthusiasm and friendliness in the Junior Common Room marked his valuable contribution to Faculty life. His second career finds him Pastor of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Toronto, and assistant to the Bishop.

Sandra also included a reminder about donations to the Alma Mater Fund (earmarked FRS, of course). She herself is enrolled in our M.A. programme and studying as an exchange student at Claremont, California. She is pursuing her interest in process thinking under Professor John Cobb's direction, and will return in the Fall.

Other classes may take heart and example from Theology '83 to contact their members through a class newsletter. Between the FRS office and the Graduates' Society it should prove a simple exercise, but most appreciated by all.

What if the graduates of each decade were to plan a special reunion for the Birks Event? May we hear from you out there who graduated in '54, '64 and '74?

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ARC is an attempt to provide a means of maintaining the ties that exist between the academic community and its Alumni/Alumnae. To aid in this continuing theological education, we are publishing two issues per year which are distributed to almost 1500 graduates and friends of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry. We are asking for an annual contribution of $5.00 per person in order to offset costs of printing and distribution.

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